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tries. He has been careful not to say anything publicly which would cause his arrest. His operations, however, have been very carefully followed by the Justice Department, including some of his talks with the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who finally persuaded Carmichael to stay out of the poor People's march.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy seems more susceptible to Carmichael's persuasion than was Dr. King. Shortly before the start of the Poor People's march, Mr. Abernathy told the New York Times: "I love Stokely. He's a wonderful guy. I may disagree with individuals like him on strategy, but not on goals. All I know is that we will remain non-violent."

Carmichael's real goal, however, is the overthrow of the United States government. He spelled this out last Aug. 18 in Hanoi at an Afro-American rally attended largely by North Vietnamese.

"We are not reformists," he said. "We do not seek to reform. We do not wish to be part of the U.S. government, of its system. We are revolutionaries. We seek to change the imperialist system of the United States. We will be satisfied with nothing less."

"We are comrades," he told the North Vietnamese, "because we seek to redeem humanity, because we seek to stop the greatest destroyer of humanity—the United States. When we succeed, and we will succeed, our blood, our lives would have been a little price to pay."

Probably Carmichael did not know that his words were picked up by powerful U.S. monitors. What he does know, however, is that his words in Hanoi cannot be used to prosecute him in the United States because the Justice Department can get no witnesses from Communist countries.

Back in the United States, Stokely is being very careful not to repeat these remarks.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE SENTENCING OF TRUONG DINH DZU

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks made on the floor of the Senate 2 days ago by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Symington], in which he was joined by the distinguished majority leader and by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young], deploring the arrest and sentencing to 5 years at hard labor of Mr. Truong Dinh Dzu. Our distinguished Vice President [Mr. Humphrey] has also spoken out eloquently on the arrest of Mr. Dzu. Mr. Dzu was, of course, the runner-up in the South Vietnamese presidential election last September.

Mr. Dzu's crime was simple. In an interview with the UPI and with the Times of London in April, he advocated that the Government of South Vietnam seek negotiations with the National Liberation Front in order to bring about a coalition government in that unhappy land. At his trial, according to a report in the Washington Post, Mr. Dzu said:

I only expressed my ideas as a politician on how to put an end to this war. I only

made constructive proposals. But I never had any activities harmful to the anti-communist spirit of the people and the armed forces.

As reported in the Washington Post, the judge of the military court replied:

As a citizen of the Republic of Vietnam, you have no right to dissent on the policy of the Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Mr. President, if we are fighting to defend a government which allows no right of dissent we are not fighting to defend a democratic government or a government which believes in the concepts on which we believe democracy to be based. I question, in fact, whether we are fighting for a government which deserves our support—support which has been measured in terms of over 25,000 Americans lives and tens upon tens of billions of dollars. If the same rules were applied in the United States as the Government of South Vietnam has applied—rules prohibiting dissent and the expression of ideas as to how to bring the war in Vietnam to an end—many of us in this body would be sentenced to hard labor, I among them. The sentence meted out to Mr. Dzu should be a source of grave concern to us all.

SOVIET PRESS DISTORTIONS OF REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it has been brought to my attention that the July 28 issue of the Soviet newspaper, Pravda, reported:

The drama now being played out in Czechoslovakia not only has important political meaning, but in the final analysis, the Czechoslovak counter revolution may be far-reaching in the area of economics. The American Senator Pell already foresees the time when there will begin to develop in Czechoslovakia private enterprise on a scale large enough to threaten socialism.

It has also been brought to my attention that the July 27 issue of the other leading Soviet newspaper, Izvestiya, in an article by M. Sturua, said:

The local press is permeated with reports on the visit of Senator Claiborne Pell to Czechoslovakia. Mr. Pell was in Prague during the forties in some diplomatic position; now he has visited Prague as a senator. After he returned to Washington, Pell presented some very curious recommendations. He proposed that a highly placed "negotiator" should be appointed to "coordinate" American-Czech financial relations. Judging from Pell's statements, it is quite clear what he is aiming at. He dreams of economically realigning Czechoslovakia to the capitalist way and joining it to the West.

I hope, Mr. President, that the Soviet press is not always this inaccurate and does not always distort the news. Pravda and Izvestia have not only put words in my mouth—words that I never said and never would say—but have also chosen to ignore the words that I did say.

To correct the record for any Soviet readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—and I am sure that there are some in the Washington press and the diplomatic corps—let me state categorically that I did not say that I could foresee the time "when there will begin to de-

velop in Czechoslovakia private enterprise on a scale large enough to threaten socialism." Quite the contrary. I said that it seemed generally recognized in Czechoslovakia that there were very definite limits to the present reform movement, one of which is that—and I now quote from my report to the Committee on Foreign Relations published only last week:

There can be no return to private ownership of the means of production and, thus, to a non-communist society.

As for the story by Mr. Sturua in Izvestiya, perhaps Izvestiya does not have available as accurate a Russian language translation of what I said as I have an English translation of what Mr. Sturua has said—that I said, Mr. Sturua wrote that I had written that "a highly placed 'negotiator' should be appointed to 'coordinate' American-Czech financial relations" and that I was dreaming "of economically realigning Czechoslovakia to the capitalist way and joining it to the West."

In fact, I did not recommend that a "negotiator" be appointed to coordinate American-Czech "financial relations" but that, if present negotiations do not yield results in the near future, a special Presidential "mediator" be appointed to examine the particular problem—and only the problem—of the claims of American citizens for compensation for property nationalized by Czechoslovakia.

Again, this point is made clearly in recommendation No. 1 of my report to the Foreign Relations Committee:

The United States should bond every effort to resolve the problem of the claims of American citizens for compensation for property nationalized by Czechoslovakia. A resolution of this problem would enable the problem of the return to Czechoslovakia of its gold seized by Nazi Germany also to be resolved. If the present stage in the negotiations does not yield results in the very near future, the President should appoint a special mediator to examine the problem and to consult with the claimants, and with Members of Congress, in order to reach a compromise acceptable to both American claimants and the Czechoslovak Government.

I will not go on, Mr. President, because I do not want to belabor the point that my observations on the situation in Czechoslovakia have not been accurately reported. It is, of course, not surprising that there has been no mention in the Soviet press of some of my remarks on other than economic questions, such as my concluding observation which I would like to repeat at this time:

The surrender of Czechoslovakia into Hitler's hands through the Munich agreement was the precursor to the Second World War. Czechoslovakia's conversion to communism in 1948 signaled the real beginning of the cold war. Now twenty years later, any attempt by the Soviet Union to use force to repress the efforts of Czechoslovakia's new leaders to reform the Communist system—to reform it, but not replace it—could revive the cold war and bring on a new ice age in Europe.

In conclusion, I thought it might be of some interest to insert in the Record the more objective news story of the same press conference written by Benjamin

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Welles and carried in the New York Times on July 14, 1968.

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDIATOR URGED IN UNITED STATES-CZECH RIPT—PELL BIDS JOHNSON ACT ON DEAD-LOCKED NEGOTIATIONS

(By Benjamin Welles)

WASHINGTON, July 13.—Senator Chalmers Pell called on President Johnson this week to name a high-level Federal mediator to coordinate and lend new impetus to long-deadlocked United States-Czechoslovakia financial negotiations. These concern Czech gold here in the United States and mutually blocked payments and assets.

The Rhode Island Democrat, a former Foreign Service officer who served in Czechoslovakia in the late nineteen-forties, had just returned from a six-day visit to that country. He said at a news conference here that Czechoslovak leaders had expressed confidence that they could continue without serious risk of Soviet interference the democratization begun last January.

"They're going to have to show results—more production, more productivity and lower prices," Senator Pell said. "They want to reform industry, to scrap the white-elephant plants built for political reasons and turn to a market economy, but for this they need credits."

U.S. MOST LIKELY SOURCE

He said that the United States was the most likely Western source of credits for Czechoslovakia if protracted deadlock over rival claims could be broken.

Another reason for Prague's need for foreign credits, Senator Pell said, was the politically popular but expensive move toward a federation in which Bohemia and Slovakia would each be largely self-ruling. This, he said, will result in a duplication of services in the two ethnically and historically distinct parts of the country.

Since the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the United States, Britain and France have been holding in escrow \$20.2-million worth of Czech gold whose return the Prague Government is demanding.

Britain and France are reported willing to return the gold but the United States insists that first its own citizens and corporations be reimbursed for losses said to total \$72.8 million.

WANTS A MAN LIKE M'CLOY

"If we can get a top-level individual—someone of the prestige of John J. McCloy—named as Federal mediator, we can begin to get the claimants together and see if we can't work out some settlement to end the deadlock," Mr. Pell said. Mr. McCloy, former United States High Commissioner in occupied Germany and chairman of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has frequently served as a Presidential delegate for special tasks.

Mr. Pell's recent visit to Czechoslovakia was the first by any high United States official since the liberalization program began. He held interviews with leading Communist officials, with editors, academicians, journalists, and foreign observers.

Among the Communist officials were Frantisek Kriegl and Josef Smrkovsky, both members of the 11-man Presidium of the Communist party's Central Committee, Dr. Jiri Pelikan, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee, and Dr. Jiri Hajek, the Foreign Minister.

SEVEN ISSUES CITED

United States sources said that there were seven outstanding issues awaiting resolution between the United States and Czechoslovakia. They are: the payment by the United

States of approximately \$5-million in accrued Social Security and similar benefits to residents of Czechoslovakia; United States-held Czech national municipal bonds; mutually blocked accounts and assets in each country; surplus American property worth \$5-million for which payment by Czechoslovakia has not been received; United States property nationalized by the Czech authorities, the Czechoslovak gold, and the ending by the United States of Czechoslovakia's most-favored-nation trading status in 1951.

State Department sources expressed little sympathy for Senator Pell's proposal. "He'd do better if he'd do some missionary work among his colleagues on Capitol Hill," commented one official. "That's where the resistance to an agreement is coming from; not from here."

VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION

Mr. PELL, Mr. President, the President's new Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence is now beginning its work. I am sure that all Americans who have been witnesses to the horror of this past year will wish the Commission well.

But, Mr. President, there is also danger that we will feel that we have discharged our responsibilities and complacently wait for yet another report instead of doing something about those reports which we already have.

There is no one cause of violence, and certainly there is no sure cure. We do know that one major cause of unrest and violence in the streets is the existence of poverty and closed opportunity, the feeling that there is no justice in the law and no hope in the present condition of society.

I do not condone violence as a method of social change. But I can understand the temptation to violence if the situation referred to by Dr. Kenneth Clark, before the Commission on Civil Disorders, is permitted to continue. If I may quote his testimony, Dr. Clark, a distinguished psychologist and expert on the ghetto, said:

I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission . . . it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland . . . with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, the same inaction.

I suggest, Mr. President, that we have sufficient knowledge of conditions in the ghetto to act upon them and that, if we fail to do so, no amount of studies and Commissions will stop the violence in the streets. I hope that the next session of the Congress will undertake as a matter of top priority, to enact the very excellent recommendations of the Commission on Civil Disorders.

Mr. President, I do not wish to anticipate the work of the new Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, but I would suggest that there is one area in which we are in need of further study, and that is the effect of violence in the mass media, and particularly in television. There have been hearings and studies on this subject, but

I believe the time has come for a study in depth of this question, which would lead to some recommendations as to the responsibility of the television media for the vast power it exercises.

Television has given us a vast national and international theater. It is a theater which can be filled with the worst of our culture, or one which can be filled with the best. We all remember the malevolent but effective use of mass media and propaganda in Nazi Germany, and the purposes of state for which they are now used in Soviet Russia. It is interesting to note too, that behind the Iron Curtain television sets are sold at a discount to encourage access to this propaganda forum for the government. Is it then merely idealistic to suggest that the vastly greater potential of our television should be used for benevolent purposes; to portray the noblest of man in all his complexity? Aristotle described the Greek theater as a vast catharsis of emotion. Certainly that catharsis did not eliminate violence and murder; but violence and murder had reality in human experience and human anguish—a reality which still has meaning 2,000 years later.

Rather far from Greek drama, I noticed in the New York Times the other morning an article describing experiments with mice which demonstrate that constant exposure to violence causes aggressive reaction. I do not suggest that we are a nation of mice or that exposure to violence turns all of us violent. Clearly it does not. Yet the course of violence in our Nation is such that all of us surely ask ourselves how many Lee Oswalds, how many Sirhan Sirhans, how many Bonnie and Clydes, how many young people with unstable personalities or limited intelligence may yet seek fame at the end of a gun because they have seen fame portrayed at the end of a gun?

How many children react as did the child of one mother who testified at a hearing that, when she told her small daughter her grandfather had died, the child asked who shot him?

Mr. President, I am sure that any poll which asked the question would find that most Americans consider our country a civilized nation. We provide special police to see that our children get to school safely; we have promoted driving schools for teenagers; we spend vast amounts of money in all manner of programs for child care and welfare. Nor is it that we are concerned solely with the bodily safety of our children. We were the pioneers in universal education, and education is the focal point of our efforts to lift children out of the ghetto.

Yet, alone of the western nations, we have no effective control over access to guns. Alone, or almost alone, of western nations, we exercise no control over what our children see on television.

Yet at the present rate of school attendance and television watching, by the time a child of 2 is 18, he will have watched over 17,000 hours of television, or better than 60 percent more time than he spent in the classroom.

Are we parents not negligent when we take an active concern in the quality of